

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 ERDA-05 AF-06

ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NASA-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 USSS-00 FBIE-00 SCA-01

CPR-01 SAM-01 /118 W

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R 101822Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4279

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 12901

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON UN MATTERS

REF: STATE 214861

1. SUMMARY. I CALLED ON VIKTOR ISRAELYAN, DIRECTOR OF THE MFA'S INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION YESTERDAY (SEPTEMBER) 9), TO DISCUSS UN MATTERS, PARTICULARLY PLANNED SOVIET INITIATIVES AT THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY. ISRAELYAN'S DEPUTY, ROLAND TIMERBAYEV, HANDLED PART OF THE DISCUSSION BEFORE ISRAELYAN, WHO WAS IN CONVERSATION WITH GROMYKO ON
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UN MATTERS, ARRIVED. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF WHO HANDLES

UN AFFAIRS. THE SOVIETS INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD, AS USUAL, HAVE A NEW INITIATIVE UNDER THE "INTERNATIONAL SECURITY" AGENDA ITEM, BUT SAID THAT IT WOULD CONTAIN "NOTHING SENSATIONAL" AND THAT THEY WOULD CONSULT WITH US WHEN THE WORDING IS FIXED. THEY EXPLICITLY RULED OUT SEPARATE RESOLUTIONS ON CSCE OR ON ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

2. TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, TOGETHER WITH ISRAELYAN, WOULD BE FLYING TO NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 15. AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN WILL ALSO BE AT THE UN, HE SAID. GROMYKO'S SPEECH IS SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 23.

3. THE SOVIETS SAID THAT THEY WOULD DEFINITELY HAVE A NEW INITIATIVE TO PRESENT AT THE GA BUT THAT THE PRECISE FORMULATION HAD NOT YET BEEN FINALIZED. TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT THE THEME WOULD BE TO COMPLEMENT POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY DETENTE. THE ITEM WILL BE PRESENTED UNDER THE AGENDA ITEM ON "STRENGTHENING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY." ISRAELYAN PROMISED THAT THE U.S. WOULD BE INFORMED IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS OF THE CONCRETE PROPOSAL BUT THAT IT WOULD CONTAIN "NOTHING SENSATIONAL."

4. TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO SPECIAL OR SEPARATE RESOLUTION ON CSCE, BUT THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT SUGGEST IN A GENERAL WAY THAT COUNTRIES IN OTHER AREAS COULD EMULATE THE EUROPEAN EXAMPLE. ISRAELYAN SAID LATER THAT EVEN THIS FORMULATION MIGHT BE WEAKENED. BOTH STATED FLATLY THAT IT WAS NOT UP TO THE UN TO DISCUSS EUROPEAN SECURITY. THE RECOMMENDATION THAT OTHER AREAS FOLLOW THE EUROPEAN EXAMPLE COULD BE IN A PREAMBULAR STATEMENT BUT WOULD NOT BE REFERRED TO SPECIFICALLY IN A RESOLUTION. TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT THE SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY FAVOR THE APPLICATION OF THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY CONCEPT TO ASIA BUT THEY REALIZE THAT THE IDEA IS "SOMEWHAT CONTROVERSIAL." SOME COUNTRIES WOULD OPPOSE SUCH A RESOLUTION AND MOSCOW WOULD NOT WISH TO RISK A UN VOTE ON THE QUESTION. IN ANY CASE, ANY PROPOSAL ON COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA REQUIRES MORE PREPARATION AND CONSULTATION.

5. ISRAELYAN SAID THAT THE SOVIETS ALSO PLAN TO REFER TO THE
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POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE UN IN ITS THIRTY-YEAR HISTORY, AND HE ASKED FOR U.S. SUPPORT, OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE, IN A PLANNED, LOW-KEY REFERENCE TO THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II. THIS WOULD ALSO PRESUMABLY BE IN THE PREAMBULAR SECTION OF THE RESOLUTION OF "STRENGTHENING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY."

6. ISRAELYAN SAID THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT AND SIGNIFICANT

ISSUES WOULD COME UP IN THE COMMITTEE I DISCUSSIONS OF DISARMAMENT. "WE WILL FACE THE SAME PROBLEMS," AS IN THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE (REVCON), HE SAID, "BUT IN A WORSE SETTING." THE REVCON WAS VERY IMPORTANT, HE SAID, AND QUOTED FINNISH CCD CHAIRMAN PASTINEN THAT IT WAS "ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES IN THE POST-SAR PERIOD." THE U.S. AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS HAD COOPERATED WELL AT GENEVA, SAID ISRAELYAN. BUT WE CANNOT IGNORE THE VIEWS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, HE SAID, AND SOVIET PROPOSALS IN THE UN WOULD REFLECT AN EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE OTHER VIEWS, SUCH AS THOSE WHICH HE IDENTIFIED AS "GARCIA-ROBLES' IDEAS."

7. ON UNCLEAR FREE ZONES (NFZS), ISRAELYAN SAID THAT PASTINEN HAD INDICATED THAT FINLAND WANTS ONLY A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION, NOT A SUBSTANTIVE ONE. THE SOVIETS ARE RELUCTANT (AS IS THE U.S., HE SAID) TO ENDORSE ALL NFZS. ALTHOUGH THEY APPROVE OF THE GENERAL CONCEPT, THEY HAD PROBLEMS WITH SPECIFICS. EACH PROPOSAL HAD TO BE EXAMINED ON ITS OWN MERITS. HE INCLUDED NEW ZEALAND'S PROPOSAL FOR A SOUTH PACIFIC NFZ AMONG THOSE ABOUT WHICH MOSCOW WAS SKEPTICAL (DESPITE IZVESTIYA'S APPARENT SUPPORT FOR THE NEW ZEALAND PROPOSAL ON SEPTEMBER 6), AND SAID THAT MOSCOW EXPECTED THE FRENCH TO OPPOSE IT STRENUOUSLY.

8. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, ISRAELYAN SAID THAT OUR POSITIONS DO NOT COINCIDE FULLY BUT THAT OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD "THEIR" (E.E., OTHER COUNTRIES') VIEWS ARE SIMILAR. THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AGREED AT THE LIMA CONFERENCE TO PROMOTE THE INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE (IOPZ) AS A FAVOR TO SRI LANKA WHICH WILL HOST THE NEXT NON-ALIGNED MEETING.

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ACDA-05 ERDA-05 AF-06 ARA-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 ISO-00 USSS-00 FBIE-00 SCA-01 CPR-01

SAM-01 /118 W

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R 101822Z SEP 75
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4280
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USMISSION USUN

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9. THE LIMA CONFERENCE ALSO ENDORSED THE IDEA VOICED BY THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER IN JULY OF CONVENING A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA ON DISARMAMENT IF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC) IS NOT CONVENED. ACCORDING TO THIS IDEA, SUCH A SPECIAL SESSION WOULD OBLIGE THOSE WHO OPPOSE A WDC (NAMELY, THE U.S. AND CHINA) TO PARTICIPATE. THE SOVIETS, ISRAELYAN SAID CAREFULLY, FAVOR THE WDC BUT DO NOT FAVOR A UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. IN THE SOVIET VIEW, A WDC MUST BE "REALISTIC," NOT SUBJECT TO THE IMPOSITION OF IMPRACTICAL RESOLUTIONS BY HUGE MAJORITIES WHICH WOULD CALL ON THE U.S. AND THE USSR TO TAKE CERTAIN DISARMAMENT MEASURES. SUCH A FORUM COULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE. WHAT THE SOVIETS WANT, SAID CONFIDENTIAL

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ISRAELYAN, IS A SERIOUS DIALOGUE AND SERIOUS DISCUSSION. I SAID THAT WE FEEL MORE LIMITED FORA ARE MORE USEFUL FOR DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS AND SAID THAT WAS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY WE FELT A WDC WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL, ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT OPPOSE THE PRINCIPLE.

10. ON ENMOD, ISRAELYAN SAID THAT THE SOVIETS EXPECT THAT THE GA WILL ASK THE CCD TO FINISH THE JOB. ON CHEMICAL WARFARE, ISRAELYAN SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT MAKE A SPECIAL POINT, BUT WILL PROBABLY INCLUDE REFERENCES TO THE U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT PLEDGES AND TO BILATERAL CONTACTS ON THE QUESTION IN THEIR DISARMAMENT SPEECH. TO MY QUESTION ABOUT FOLLOWING UP BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS ON LIMITING "SUPER WEAPONS," ISRAELYAN SAID WITHOUT NOTICEABLE ENTHUSIASM THAT, SINCE IT WAS SOMETHING SAID BY THE TOP LEADER, IT WILL OF COURSE HAVE TO BE REFLECTED IN WHAT THE SOVIETS SAY AT THE UN.

11. ON THE KOREAN QUESTION, ISRAELYAN SAID

FLATLY THAT OUR POSITIONS WILL DIFFER. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ASKED BY SOME WESTERN EUROPEANS (HE MENTIONED DENMARK SPECIFICALLY) WHETHER SOME COMPROMISE WAS POSSIBLE, BUT HE SAW NONE. THE NORTH KOREAN POSITION IS CLEAR AND DIRECT, HE SAID: THEY FAVOR UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY AND BELIEVE THAT THIS GOAL CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WHEN HALF OF THE COUNTRY IS "OCCUPIED" BY FOREIGN TROOPS. THEY POINT OUT THAT THERE IS NOT A SINGLE FOREIGN SOLDIER IN NORTH KOREA AND THEIR POSITION, SAID ISRAELYAN, "HAS LOGIC." SO OUR TWO MISSIONS WILL STRUGGLE FOR VOTES AND LOBBY ON THIS ISSUE THE SAME AS ALWAYS, HE SAID WITH APPARENT REGRET. "WE WILL NOT BE THE MOST ACTIVE," HE SAID, "BUT WE WILL SUPPORT NORTH KOREA." THE SOVIETS HAVE DISCUSSED THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR ABOLISHING THE UN COMMAND WITH THE NORTH KOREANS, HE SAID, BUT "IT IS NOT WHAT THEY HAVE IN MIND." I STATED OUR POSITION AND SAID WE BELIEVED STRONGLY THAT IT CONTRIBUTED TO MAINTAINING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN THE AREA.

12. ON OTHER ISSUES OF DIFFERENCES, ISRAELYAN SAID THAT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE TWO VIETNAMS WILL COME UP AND THERE WILL BE STRONG PRESSURE ON THE U.S. TO ADMIT THEM. I REITERATED THAT THE U.S. WILL OPPOSE THEIR ADMISSION AS WE HAD ALREADY DONE, UNLESS SOME PROVISION WERE MADE FOR SOUTH KOREAN ADMISSION. CONFIDENTIAL

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13. ON ISRAEL, ISRAELYAN POINTED OUT THAT THE LIMA AND KAMPALA RESOLUTIONS HAD TAKEN A MODERATE LINE ON THE QUESTION AND THAT AN EXPULSION MOVE WAS NOW UNLIKELY. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS "NOT 100 PERCENT CERTAIN" THAT EVEN THE NEW MIDDLE EAST ACCORD WILL PREVENT "EXTREMISTS" FROM PROPOSING ISRAELI EXPULSION, POSSIBLY TO EMBARRASS " SOME ARAB COUNTRIES". BUT EVEN THAT SEEMED UNLIKELY, AND WOULD CLEARLY FAIL, HE SAID. HE SEEMED CAREFUL TO MAKE NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT OR JUDGEMENT CONCERNING THE LATEST ACCORD.

14. ON THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION, ISRAELYAN COMMENTED THAT IT HAD BEEN "MORE BUSINESSLIKE" THAN THE 6TH. THERE WERE NUMEROUS PROPOSALS, HE SAID, SOME OF WHICH WERE CONTROVERSIAL AND MANY OF WHICH REQUIRED CAREFUL ANALYSIS. SO THERE WAS NO LIKELIHOOD THAT THEY COULD ALL BE RESOLVED IN THE REMAINING FEW DAYS. THE FINAL DOCUMENT, THEREFORE, WOULD PROBABLY BE VERY GENERAL AND PROVIDE A MEANS FOR CONTINUING THE WORK ON THE PROPOSALS PUT FORTH IN THE SESSION.

15. WE BOTH COMMENTED ON THE USEFULNESS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS AND OF THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. ISRAELYAN SAID THAT HE WAS GRATIFIED THAT AMBASSADORS MOYNIHAN AND MALIK HAD APPARENTLY REACHED SOME FORM OF AGREEMENT TO "AVOID

CONFRONTATION "TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. ISRAELYAN ALSO
RECALLED AMBASSADOR BUFFUM'S JUNE VISIT TO MOSCOW WARMLY
AND SAID THAT HE HOPED VERY MUCH TO SEE AMBASSADOR BUFFUM
IN NEW YORK.
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